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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[15] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[15] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [591] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another [598] village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function 648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by 648 certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that 186 the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as 186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host 574 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [511] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they [602] slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gé language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first.

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes.

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower.

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *karahiba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts.

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house.

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him.

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The situation[1] was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuaſi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *idesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[1] [i.e. building Quain's house--Analyst]

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 222–23.

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatain, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course. 622 537

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself. 622

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited. 622 476

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work. 622 591 554 [123] [514] [609]

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male. 622 554 [756] [755]

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[6] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- 171 yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[6] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

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105 181 421 [578] 431 [855] "Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. [430] [524] Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish [858] property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five [431] year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership [865] attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

105 [361] "These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of [524] metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct [182] Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

105 123 156 "The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

[867] "The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the 105 floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit [574] with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... [833] Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

105 167 831 "Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[618] [1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialised in axe-making.